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ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEAR FRIENDS,—The deep interest we take in the prosecution of the anti-slavery cause in your country, coupled as it is at the present moment with so many interesting and important circumstances,—some of a hopeful and others of a painful character,—induces us to address you for the purpose of expressing our cordial sympathy with you in the great object of your labours, the unabated confidence we feel in your prudence and zeal in its promotion, and the hopes we cherish of its speedy and triumphant success.

Among the recent events which have occasioned us much pain is the incarceration in the common jails of Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, Kentucky, and Florida, of several estimable individuals, of both sexes, on the alleged ground of their having either counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from the yoke of bondage. In the case of one of these Christian philanthropists we learn that to the indignity of chains and imprisonment have been added the torture of branding with a red-hot iron, and the insults of the pillory. For many long years most of them will have to endure the privations, labours, and seclusion of their prison-houses, and some of them to mourn over their separation from the dearest objects of their affections, their wives and children. And for what are they sentenced to endure torture, insult, and injury, the privation of liberty, and of endearing intercourse of friends? Not for having violated, but for having practically vindicated the sublime declaration of your constitution, that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;"—not for having broken, but for having given practical effect to the royal law of love, that "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them." They have sought to deliver the poor when he cried from the hand of him that oppressed him, and for this they have been condemned to heavy and degrading punishments. This new outrage on our common humanity and religion will not fail, we trust, to give intensity to the feeling of abhorrence with which all good men should regard the horrid system of slavery, requiring as it does, for its support, laws which declare acts of humanity to be crimes, and that punish deeds of Christian benevolence as felonies. We shall not forget our brethren in their affliction; and you will derive a new motive from their "bonds and imprisonment" to increased exertion to free your country from its guilt and infamy.

Another event has also deeply grieved us: we allude to the course which certain individuals representing the Free Church of Scotland have pursued on the question of slavery, both in your country and in our own. In the United States, where, on their own principles, they ought to have been the most eloquent advocates of freedom, they were silent on that great iniquity which reduces to the condition of "chattels personal in the hands of their masters" three millions of immortal beings—they were silent—they bore no open, manly, and Christian protest against it, and, for this cruel abandonment of their duty, they were rewarded with the approbation and with the gold of the slaveholders to cast into the treasury of their church! At home, as a necessary consequence, they have become the studied apologists of the oppressor, and without either discrimination or justice have attacked you the friends of the oppressed. With the ignorant and uninformed among us, with those who seek apologies for inactivity in the great cause of humanity and freedom, this may do mischief for a time; whilst among you it may strengthen, we trust for a brief period only, the hands of your enemies and the abettors of slavery. Nevertheless we are not without ground of hope that there are many men of reputation and piety in the Free Church of Scotland who will steadily and boldly resist this attempt to implicate the great body of its members in upholding the impious system; and will give their countenance and support to the noble efforts you are making for its complete extinction. You may rest assured that we shall not allow this grave matter to pass over in silence, nor lose any favourable opportunity that may be afforded us of defending you from calumny, and of pleading the cause of our enslaved brethren against those whose sympathies, we regret to say, are more largely manifested towards the oppressor than the oppressed.

We now turn to subjects of a more bright and cheering character. It is with the greatest satisfaction we observe the progress of right principles among the different sections of the Christian church in your country. The consciences of multitudes have evidently been awakened to feel the deep criminality of slavery, and the duty of the church to purge itself thoroughly from all connection with it. This important movement, so accordant with the benign spirit and precepts of the gospel, cannot fail to augment its force, and pursue its triumphs, until the reproach which has been cast upon the

church, as the bulwark of slavery, shall be for ever done away, and the wails of the captive be heard no more within her borders. Continue your labours of love in this direction: it will be fruitful of blessings. Under the Divine benediction, as your chief strength, so your chief hope of success, lies here.

Next in importance to this movement in the church, we regard the formation and progress of the Liberty party. As deeply interested spectators, we have narrowly watched its course during the late presidential election, and have little to deplore beyond the unprincipled conduct of its enemies, and the sad defection, in a few instances, of those whom we have been wont to regard as standard-bearers in the cause of the enslaved. Of this we are convinced, however, that so long as it maintains its anti-slavery platform irrespective of party claims and personal objects, so long as its aim be single, and its action pure, it will increase in numbers and influence, until by its moral and political strength, it shall break down every opposing barrier, and the great end for which it was formed, be perfectly accomplished.

We have to congratulate you on the first triumph of the anti-slavery cause in your Legislature during its present session: the revocation of the rule which prevented petitions relating to the abolition of slavery from being received by it, is a proof that public opinion has felt the power of your principles, and that the House of Representatives itself, could no longer resist its force. This opens the way for a vigorous, united, and extensive appeal to this body on the greatest questions that can engage its attention. We are persuaded that you will not fail to avail yourselves of it, and pour your petitions into the House until its power shall be exerted to redress the mighty wrongs of which you complain. We shall wait with the deepest interest for the fruits of this great victory.

In relation to the annexation of Texas to the United States our hopes and fears alternate. The unscrupulous character of the present Government, the avowed intentions of the President elect, the stake which the slaveholders have in the question, fill us, at times, with serious apprehension and alarm. We fear lest by some violent measure of the executive, or some wretched compromise of Congress, the fatal step may be taken, and the new republic be permanently devoted to slavery, and a bloody war risked, not only with Mexico, but with other nations who have great interests at stake, apart from those of humanity and freedom, in that part of the world. Every lover of peace, as well as every friend of liberty, above all, every Christian both in your country and in our's, should exert himself to avert so great a calamity from the human race. On the other hand, we cannot abandon the hope that so fearful a catastrophe may be prevented, when we consider the divided counsels of the democratic party on the subject, the avowed hostility of the Whig party as a body to such a measure, and the determined opposition of the Liberty party, and the Abolitionists generally, to so infamous a scheme. To this we may add, the utter scorn with which civilized Europe would regard such an abandonment of all right principles as it would involve. We look also to the attitude which Texas herself assumes on the question. It is evident she does not press for annexation, however much some of her people may desire it; and, in fact, her interests, rightly understood, are opposed to it. Once secure in her independence, with free institutions and a free people, she would rapidly gain strength, develop her resources, and consolidate her power. But we need not speculate further, inasmuch as a short time will probably decide this momentous question.

We have learned with satisfaction the proposed Anti-Slavery Convention which it is suggested shall be held in the city of Washington. We trust such a convocation of the friends of liberty and humanity will take place, and that its deliberations may be followed with the happiest results.

In Europe the cause of abolition is onward. France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden may be said to have conceded the principle of slave emancipation, and that it is now with their respective legislatures and governments solely a question of time and mode; and with whatever reluctance some of them may appear to enter upon its consideration, it is certain nevertheless that events, combined with the constantly increasing interest felt in the subject, are rapidly hastening it to a final solution. The conviction everywhere prevails that emancipation must take place. Our earnest desire is that it may take place soon.

We need not say how deeply gratified we should be if the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, in such a position leave you free to co-operate with us on the general question is still desolated to supply the slave-markets of the world victims. Countless millions of the human race, scattered face of the earth, are subjected to a tyranny the most cruel and a degradation the most complete. In the ultimate suc-



holy cause their liberty and happiness are bound up. May we labour for them with assiduous zeal, and be cheered with the conviction that "our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

London, February 3, 1845.

SURINAM.

In the *Reporter* of the 25th December last, we inserted an address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to British subjects holding slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam, pointing out the criminality of the system they sustain, and urging them to abandon it as a duty which they owe both to God and to man.

From facts which have come to our knowledge, we have good reason to believe the appeal of the Committee has not been without effect, both in Holland and in England. One of our contemporaries, the *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant*, has devoted an article in reply to the address, especially to that part of it which refers to the religious instruction of the slaves in the colony. Having quoted the following part of the address—

As a consequence of the injustice, inhumanity, and immorality of the system, the slaves are, for the most part, if not universally, kept in a state of the grossest ignorance. From their minds the blessed light and grace of Heaven is shut out upon principle. To instruct and enlighten them is deemed incompatible with their servile state. Let us not be told that they are taught on many estates religious truth, by missionaries and others. We are aware that there is the semblance of this on some plantations; but allow us to ask under what limitations and restrictions is instruction allowed to be imparted? We know, from past experience in the British colonies, that so long as slavery is permitted to exist, instruction worthy of the name cannot be imparted—it is impossible. As the slaves live, so they die, ignorant and unblest, and leave to their posterity the same degraded and wretched inheritance.

The *Courant* thus proceeds:—

Such may have been the case in the British colonies, but such is not the case in the Dutch colony of Surinam. In that colony the instruction of the missionaries is no mere appearance; there no instruction is given under limitations and restrictions; and there it is no impossibility to give instruction, worthy of the name, under the system of slavery.

On nearly every plantation there the missionaries have free access. On some there is a resident missionary, as on plantation "Rust en Werk," in order to spread the light of the gospel amongst the black population, and to teach them to read when they shall desire it, that thus they may become a religious and moral people, and learn that it is the duty of every Christian to earn his daily bread by his labour.

It is not difficult to prove this demonstratively, the Moravian brethren at Zeist can confirm it; and the English commissary, Schenley, at Surinam, must acknowledge that we speak the truth.

True as are the abovementioned facts, no less false are the accusations against the Dutch colonists. These colonists are neither cruel nor immoral. And as a proof that the slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam are at least as well treated as the free labourers in Demerara, the following statement may suffice; that of forty free labourers who, through the assistance of the British commissary Schenley, in August, 1843, were sent in a Government vessel to Demerara; and who applied to Capt. Meyer, of the Dutch schooner, the *Beschermer*, complaining of their present lot, and earnestly desiring to return to Surinam, in order to work there as they used to do, and place themselves, according to what was said at the period in the *Guiana Times*, again under the barbarous regime of the Spanish buck, and the lash of the government of the colony of Surinam. Besides this, several runaway slaves have addressed themselves to the beforementioned captain to beseech him to bring over their former masters, to take them again into slavery, being willing to submit themselves to the punishment that would be inflicted upon them for their escape.

These are official facts, and the best answer to the shameful accusations so basely and calumniously brought forward against the planters by the so-called friends of the negro.

It is desirable that his Excellency, the Minister of the Colonies, should be acquainted with these facts, in order that it may be seen clearly by him that the Surinam colonists do not deserve the reproaches of the friends of Africa; and that his Excellency, being convinced by the injustice of the accusations against the planters, may displace the members of the colonial government who have induced his Excellency to form the erroneous opinion that the planters were cruel, and opposed to every thing—opposed to improvement and progress. The contrary is the fact.

Had not one of our correspondents informed us that this reply was quoted by the pro-slavery party in Holland as a triumphant refutation of the statement contained in the address, we should have allowed it to pass with a cursory remark; but inasmuch as some importance is attached to it, we shall examine how far the reply may be dignified by the appellation of a refutation.

In opposition to the address, our contemporary asserts that the instruction of the negroes by the missionaries in Surinam is not in appearance only, but is without limitations or restrictions, and is worthy of the name. In proof of this assertion it is alleged, that the missionaries have free access to the slaves on nearly every plantation—that on some there is a resident missionary to spread the light of the gospel—that such of the blacks as desire it may be taught to read—and that, to use the words of our contemporary, "they may thus become a religious, a moral people, and learn that it is the duty of every Christian to earn his daily bread by his labour." In confirmation of these assertions we are referred to the Moravian brethren at Zeist, and to Mr. Schenley, the British Commissary Judge at Surinam.

We should be extremely well pleased to find our contemporary correct, for it would be a proof to us that the planters in Surinam had begun to recognise the claims of their slaves to be regarded as men requiring, equally with themselves, to be instructed in the truths of religion; and that, conscience being enlightened thus far, we might cherish the hope that they would soon admit their claims to freedom—to which also, as men, they are equally entitled with themselves. But the satisfaction of believing this is, at least for the present, denied us.

The number of slaves in Surinam is estimated at about 45,000. These are scattered over 400 plantations in different and distant parts of the colony, inaccessible for the most part, except by boats in seasonable weather.

According to an official statement published under the authority of the branch of the Moravian Missionary Society existing in this country, it appears that there were settled in June 1844, at Paramaribo, five missionaries; at Charlottenberg, four missionaries; at Worstelling, Jacobs, two missionaries; at Rabeby, one missionary; and at Salem, one missionary; in all, thirteen missionaries, besides the wives of those that were married, and certain assistants, making in all thirty-one persons. Now, supposing the whole of the thirteen missionaries were constantly occupied in visiting the slaves on the plantations, which they are not, except occasionally, the number to be instructed would far exceed their ability; but, when it is remembered that these missionaries have to superintend the churches gathered at their principal stations, and to provide for public worship on Sundays, as well as during the week, it is quite clear that but very few of them can be spared to impart instruction to the plantation negroes, and that the instruction imparted must be of a meagre and casual kind. At Paramaribo the number of negroes under instruction is reported to be 3,277; at Charlottenburg, 3,322; at Worstelling Jacobs, 2,447; Rabeby, 78, and Salem, 653; in all, 9,477. This was the report for June. Subsequently, in November of the same year, we learn that Worstelling Jacobs had been abandoned, that deaths had occurred at other stations, and that at Charlottenburg five of the brethren and sisters were "lying seriously ill of fever;" so that it would appear that, towards the close of last year, few of the missionaries were at liberty to attend to the instruction of the negroes, and that, if we deduct the 2,147 which have been abandoned at Worstelling Jacobs, from the 9,477 reported in June, we have left 7,330 as the true number of negroes under the care, if it can be so designated, of the missionaries. But we are informed that there is a missionary settled on Plantation Werk-en-Rust for the benefit of the negroes there. Be it so—the number of negroes on that estate is 170.

As to the instruction imparted to the negroes we believe it to be of the nature stated by our contemporary, "that it is the duty of every Christian to earn his daily bread by his labour." This, to be sure, is very excellent teaching; but are these missionaries allowed to go a step further, and to teach their masters to "give unto their servants that which is just and equal?" In other words, wages instead of the whip—liberty instead of slavery? We fear not; for in so doing they would condemn themselves. Unhappily, the Moravian missionaries in Surinam are too deeply involved in the system of slavery to allow of their being faithful to the high trust reposed in them.

As to the general treatment of the slaves in Surinam, the fact of their rapid decrease would be sufficient, one would think, to convince our contemporary that it was the reverse of humane. If, however, he be unconvinced upon this point, we refer him to the official papers laid before the British Parliament last year, extracts from which were inserted in the *Reporter* of the 16th of October last.

Without calling into question the truthfulness of our contemporary, relative to the desire expressed by the liberated slaves removed some time since from Surinam to Demerara to return to their former condition, we state it as our conviction that he has been imposed upon by his informant, and that it will turn out, upon examination, to be a pure fable. The people are as free to return to Surinam as they were to leave it. No obstacle can be thrown in their way by the authorities if such be their purpose, as none exists in law.

THE LATE OUTBREAK IN DOMINICA.

A PARLIAMENTARY paper has just been published, containing the official correspondence which has taken place between the functionaries abroad and the Government at home, in relation to the disturbances in Dominica in June last. Our readers, consequently, can now see to what extent the accounts we have already laid before them are confirmed. We shall mark a few passages in italics, as worthy of special attention.

In his first despatch, dated the 11th of June, the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy, writes to Lord Stanley as follows:—

Your lordship will observe that the act of taking the census was the pretext for the commencement of the acts of violence which have unfortunately occurred. It is, however, beyond a doubt that for some time past evil-disposed persons have been going about the island, taking advantage of the ignorance of the lower orders, to excite them, and impress them with the idea that the Government intended to reconvert them into slaves. Many of these persons are said to be refugees who have escaped from slavery in the French islands. This idea, however preposterous, seems to have taken a strong hold of the minds of these ignorant people, and the consequence was their simultaneous rising against the census commissioners and enumerators at various and distant places on the 3rd

of June. I have no doubt that acts of indiscretion on the part of some of the commissioners and enumerators, and previous threats from the manager of an estate in one of the districts where the disturbances took place, who is stated to be a man of violent temper, to the effect that "they should soon have the cat on their backs again," contributed to exasperate and excite them to resistance.

And in relation to the same point he writes as follows, in a subsequent despatch, dated June 25 :—

With respect to the real cause which led to the rising of the labourers, in opposition to the local authorities, I trust it will be in my power to furnish your lordship, by the next packet, with a more accurate opinion than I can at present form, as by that time I shall have received Mr. Laidlaw's report of the result of a searching inquiry, which I directed him to institute, both with respect to the advantage which had been taken by some designing and mischievous persons of the ignorance of the labourers to induce them to believe that they were again to be reduced to slavery, and also as to the conduct of other persons, whose business it was to have prepared the minds of the people by explaining to them the object of the census, and undeceiving them as to the mischievous reports which had been spread abroad respecting it.

In the meantime, I feel confident that many circumstances will come to light, which, if they will not entirely excuse, will greatly extenuate the conduct of far the larger number of the peasantry who took part in the disturbances; and that had proper precautions been taken, in compliance with Mr. Laidlaw's directions and requests, no attempt would have been made, either actively or passively, to resist the laws, or oppose the commissioners and enumerators in the execution of their duties. I feel justified in making this assertion, from the fact that in the northern part of the island, where the stipendiary magistrates are resident, and on the whole of Mr. Laidlaw's estates, no opposition was offered, and no disturbance took place; while, on the contrary, in the southern parts, where the stipendiary magistrates are not resident, and where but little precaution appears to have been exercised, the most serious disturbances occurred.

It is scarcely necessary that I should add, that I lost no time in ordering the two stipendiary magistrates alluded to (Mr. Lynch and Mr. Johnson) to proceed at once to their districts, and to remain there.

In his despatch to Sir Charles Fitzroy, on the 10th of June, Mr. President Laidlaw gives the following account of the proceedings of the militia at Grand Bay, under Captain M'Coy :—

Captain M'Coy halted his men, and advanced by himself, to know for what purpose they were assembled; their answer was, "For nothing." Captain M'Coy then told them it was unlawful for armed men to be together as they were. At this moment a shower of stones, broken glass, bottles, and other missiles were thrown by a party in ambush at the men, on which they instantly, and without any order to that effect, fired; when they made off, leaving a woman dangerously wounded behind. This was towards the close of the evening; and pursuit was not attempted. On the following morning Captain M'Coy formed his detachment into several divisions, and ordered them to the respective estates, on his march to the Geneva property, where the negroes were more violent than elsewhere; but the majority of them retired into the woods, and the others concealed themselves about the houses. The party under Mr. Bellot attempted to capture one of the ringleaders; but he resisted, ran into his house, returned with a dagger, exclaiming, with his breast bared and beating it, that he had drunk rum and gunpowder, and that he had room for a dozen bullets in it. The men endeavoured to take him prisoner; but he wounded one of them in the arm with his dagger: and they were obliged, in self-defence, to shoot him. They afterwards struck off his head, and placed it on a pole at the Berricoa estate; which, although a measure that I did not contemplate, had the effect of striking terror into the whole of the quarter; and a great number were soon afterwards taken prisoners. Captain M'Coy advanced upon the Stowe estate, where many of the most violent had resorted to. The detachment under his command surrounded the negro houses, and took a great many prisoners. One man made a rush from amongst them, and attempted suicide with a razor, but ineffectually, and he is in a fair way of recovery. Previously to Captain M'Coy's advance upon this quarter, the insurgents had entered the dwelling-houses of the respective estates, ransacked them, destroyed every article of furniture, &c. contained in them, and pillaged the provisions. This destruction of property I have some reason to think was occasioned by the intemperate conduct of one of the commissioners of population, and a manager in that quarter; but cannot speak positively to this point. I have directed the matter to be investigated, when I shall report further in regard to it to your Excellency.

The following is an extract of a despatch from Lord Stanley to the Governor-General, dated July 16, 1844.

I request that you will convey to Captain M'Coy, of the militia force, Her Majesty's satisfaction with the activity and judgment evinced by him on this occasion. And I am also to state the favourable impression which Her Majesty has received of the general conduct of that force. It will be necessary, however, that an inquiry should be made into the fact of Captain M'Coy's company having fired without orders. It is also indispensable to make inquiry into the fact of the head of one of the insurgents who was killed, having been cut off and exhibited on a pole for the purpose of striking terror. Such an act cannot be approved, whatever may have been the immediate effect produced.

With reference to your report, that the outbreak may be in part attributable to acts of indiscretion on the part of some of the census commissioners and enumerators, and also on the part of the manager of an estate, I should wish to be furnished, as soon as the disturbances shall have been completely suppressed, with such further information as you may be able to procure on this subject.

In a despatch to Sir C. Fitzroy, dated June 26, Mr. Laidlaw says :—

I had the matter of Mr. — breaking open the people's houses on the — estate investigated by Messrs. O'Sullivan and Lloyd, and I am

happy to be able to acquit that young gentleman of any wilful intention of injuring them in the slightest degree.

The conduct of the "young gentleman" thus honourably acquitted is spoken of by the Governor-in-chief, in his despatch of the 1st of July, in the following terms :—

With respect to "the matter of Mr. —," it is right that I should explain that it refers to a complaint made to me on the spot by the labourers on the — estate at Grand Bay, where the whole of the furniture and household property of every description belonging to the proprietor (Mr. —) was entirely destroyed.

I rode over to this part of the island the day before I quitted Dominica; and, on questioning some of the labourers who had returned to their work, I was informed that they had been provoked to these acts of violence by the misconduct of Mr. —, one of the commissioners appointed for taking the census, who had, as they stated, wantonly broken into several of their cottages, on finding them deserted by their owners, who had abandoned them under the fear that the object of taking their numbers was to reduce them again to slavery. I had desired Mr. Laidlaw to have the circumstances of this case investigated, with a view to dismissing Mr. — from the magistracy, had his conduct deserved such a mark of displeasure of the Government.

Your lordship will not fail to observe, that the report of the outrages committed by Messrs. — corroborates the opinion I expressed in my despatch of the 22nd ultimo, that many circumstances would come to light which would extenuate the conduct of a peasantry who have hitherto been remarkable for their peaceable and orderly behaviour.

On the 26th of June, nearly three weeks after the outbreak, Sir C. Fitzroy wrote to Lord Stanley in the following terms :—

I am also happy to state, that I felt justified in ordering the release of almost all the persons who had been taken into custody during the disturbances, and that among the few whom it was considered necessary to detain for trial, none stand a chance of receiving a more severe punishment than would be inflicted under ordinary circumstances, in cases of aggravated assaults, or wanton destruction of property.

On the 27th of July, however, he thus recorded the disappointment of this pleasing expectation :—

It is with much regret that I have to inform your lordship that the anticipations which I had formed, and which I made known to your lordship in my despatch, Dominica, No. 22, of the 25th ult., respecting the probable results of the trials of the persons engaged in the late disturbances in that island, have been disappointed.

Your lordship will perceive that the Attorney-general of Dominica thought it incumbent upon him, in consequence of the evidence before him, to proceed capitally against six of the prisoners; that the whole six were convicted and sentenced to death, and that Mr. Laidlaw had deemed it his duty to have one prisoner executed.

To this despatch Lord Stanley replied in the following terms, on the 28th of August :—

I have received your despatch, Dominica, No. 27, of the 27th of July, in which you transmit Mr. President Laidlaw's report of capital sentences having been passed against six of the persons tried for crimes committed during the late disturbances, and of one of those sentences having been carried into effect by his authority without previous reference to you.

I concur with you in the regret which you feel for the course thus pursued by Mr. President Laidlaw.

You will, of course, feel it to be your duty to investigate the facts of these cases, as they bear on the real state of feeling on the part of the population, and the real causes of the disturbances.

The extracts which we have felt it our duty to make from this correspondence will speak for themselves. We have seldom seen a more painful or a more disgraceful disclosure. While there is much that the document before us does not tell, and while the whole correspondence is in an unfinished state (the reports containing the results of some important and most necessary inquiries being wanting), quite enough is revealed materially "to extenuate (to use the mild expression of the Governor-in-chief) the conduct of a peasantry, who have been hitherto remarkable for their peaceable and orderly behaviour." Whatever may be the truth of the surmises—for no evidence is adduced to take the allegations out of this category—respecting the artful dissemination of the notion that slavery was about to be restored, there is no doubt of the fact, now officially acknowledged and recorded, that the people were urged and goaded into irritation by most unjustifiable and blameable proceedings. It is admitted in one place that "but little precaution had been used" in order to make them acquainted with the true nature of the census in progress; and in another that a "young gentleman," who seems to have been both a magistrate and a commissioner of population, "wantonly broke into several cottages," which, on his visit he found empty. "Young" as this gentleman was, we really think Mr. Laidlaw must be younger than he; for he is so childish as to express his delight "in being able to acquit this young gentleman of any wilful intention of injuring" the people, the sacredness of whose homes he thus "wantonly" violated. How very different a measure the planter-president deals to this "young gentleman," from that which he dealt to Jean Philip Motard, for throwing a stone at Mr. Bremner!

The conduct of the militia in quelling the disturbance was as scandalous as that of planters, commissioners, and magistrates, in provoking it. At Grand Bay, a company of these gentlemen, upon being once pelted, fired—and fired, not by order of their commanding officer, but without orders—sending death into the midst of an unarmed peasantry, not even after the manner of martial law, but as an act of deliberate murder. They cut off the head of a man whom they had most unnecessarily shot, and stuck it on a pole for the purpose of inspiring terror. And such was the general temper of this body,

that President Laidlaw expresses his delight in the following terms:—"I have reason to congratulate myself and the country that their impetuous conduct did not lead to a more sanguinary termination of this affair."

We see with satisfaction that Lord Stanley notices these things in terms of disapprobation, and demands inquiry. We trust that the results of these inquiries will be laid on the table of Parliament, and that measures of just reprehension and punishment will not be withheld.

It appears clear from these papers, that the tragical result of these proceedings took Sir Charles Fitzroy by surprise. In a mild but unequivocal manner, he expresses regret at the execution of Motard, and Lord Stanley emphatically concurs with him. No doubt can now be entertained, therefore, that Mr. Laidlaw took upon himself, in this matter, an undue responsibility, and that, had the Governor-in-chief been consulted, the poor man's life would have been spared.

We have passed, without notice, the allegations which are made in this correspondence respecting a party easily recognised by means of Mr. Laidlaw's letter to ourselves; because the bill of indictment founded upon them has been ignored by the Grand Jury to whom it was presented.

We pass by many topics in this correspondence calling for severe animadversion. But we cannot close our remarks without once more urging it upon Lord Stanley to take more effectual security for the tranquillity of the British colonies in the West Indies, and the lives of British subjects there. It must be evident to him, that in this case of serious disturbance, the peasantry were "more sinned against than sinning;" and yet the whole amount of retribution falls upon them. Is it not melancholy that, at the present day, planters, magistrates, and population commissioners, having first, by neglect and outrage, exasperated the peasantry into anger, should afterwards have the prerogative of going as militiamen to scatter bullets among them at their pleasure, and the gratification of seeing one of them, far less criminal than themselves, hung up by the neck till he is dead? If all this is to pass with no other notice than the courtier-like terms found in these despatches of Lord Stanley, we cannot refrain from expressing our conviction that the tranquillity and welfare of the British West Indies will be most criminally and dangerously trifled with.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 5, 1845.

PARLIAMENT was yesterday opened by her Majesty in person. In the Commons, Lord John Russell having expressed dissatisfaction with the revival of the commission for revising the treaties on the slave-trade, Sir Robert Peel said he thought it better to refrain from discussing the subject until the papers connected with it were before the House. He confirmed the rumour that the Commissioners appointed in this matter were the Duke of Broglie and Dr. Lushington.

Letters from Madrid announce the commencement of the discussion in the Spanish Congress of the penal law against slave-trading. M. Isturitz made a violent attack upon the new law, and upon the treaty on which it was founded; to which M. Martinez de la Rosa replied that the treaty was a *fait accompli*, and the penal law now proposed a mere necessary consequence of the treaty. The discussion was adjourned.

CONSIDERABLE changes are taking place in the English Cabinet. What is chiefly interesting to us is that Mr. Gladstone's retirement from the Board of Trade is assigned by common rumour, in part, to an intended abandonment, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, of the policy adopted by the Government last session in relation to the sugar duties. Mr. Gladstone distinctly contradicted this rumour last night.

We have to record in our present number the death of two valued friends of the anti-slavery cause; one of whom has been removed from our own country, and the other from the United States of America.

From our own country has been removed by Divine Providence the most noble the Marquis of Sligo, at the age of fifty-seven years. This nobleman, always of liberal political views, held the distinguished office of Governor of Jamaica in 1834, and had the task of carrying into effect in that island the great measure of emancipation; an arduous and difficult position, in which he acquitted himself with eminent firmness and discretion. On his return to England he published his views on the points which were then undergoing an agitated discussion, in a volume on the working of the apprenticeship system, which did good service to the cause of freedom. Although of late years withdrawn by infirmity from public life, he held the same views to the last, and will ever be remembered with gratitude among the friends of the negro race.

From the United States of America has been removed a man, to whose name we have not to append any titles of earthly nobility, but whose character we have long held in the highest admiration—Thomas Morris, of Ohio. His death is thus spoken of in one of the American papers (the *Emancipator*) lately received:—

THOMAS MORRIS.—The death of this distinguished leader in our cause is a heavy loss to the Liberty party. He was a truly great man. He died suddenly, having been apparently in vigorous health up to the time

of his decease. Even his political opponents now speak well of him. The Ohio State Journal, a Whig paper, says, "He has possessed the confidence of a very large portion of his countrymen as a philanthropist and patriot, and has sacrificed much of political advancement, to extend and advance abolitionism in this country. He has held many important posts, having been in his day a member of the State legislature, a judge, U. S. senator, &c." Mr. Morris was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, by the legislature, in 1808, thirty-six years ago, and has been in public life most of the time since, until he closed a six years' term of service in the United States Senate, in 1839. His speech in the Senate, in 1839, on slavery, in reply to Henry Clay, was a masterly production, and will embalm his name among the philanthropists and patriots of the land. It was a most triumphant answer to Mr. Clay, and was made at a time when there was not another man in the Senate who dared attempt an answer.

We direct attention to a document on our first page, being an address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Abolitionists of the United States.

We are without any material additions to our American news since our last. Accounts from all quarters, as inserted in the various papers of the day, confirm the impression that the annexation of Texas will not be consummated during the present session of Congress. The parties who covet this prize are fatally divided among themselves as to the best mode of possessing themselves of it. The following view of the case is given by the correspondent of the *Watchman*:—

I say the *possibility* of Texas being annexed, because the *probability* of it seems to be daily diminishing. At all events, unless there should be some sudden and now unforeseen change of position in the leading members of the Democratic party, it is next to impossible that the measure should be carried through during the present session of Congress. No less than four or five different schemes of annexation have been presented by the advocates of the measure,—so greatly do they differ among themselves as to the proper mode of accomplishing their object. Mr. Benton, by far the strongest Democrat in the Senate, will oppose, to the last, all Mr. Calhoun's schemes, utterly rejecting the pro-slavery doctrines of the South-Carolinian Secretary; and, in this opposition, he will be seconded by the whole Northern or Van Buren wing of the Democratic party. Of course, the Whigs will vote with them, in order to defeat Mr. Calhoun, knowing well that this will be equivalent to defeating the measure of annexation itself. The state of North Carolina has recently declared itself, by its legislature, as entirely opposed to annexation; and there are symptoms of opposition in states even still further south. Mr. Calhoun's despatches to Mr. Shannon, our minister to Mexico, and the absurd conduct of that *skilful* diplomatist, in his blustering correspondence with the Mexican Government, have disgusted all thinking men of both parties. Even Mr. Calhoun, it is said, is deeply mortified by the mal-adroit movements of his own agent. Mr. Shannon's conduct has certainly added another to the many influences now at work to prevent annexation.

With much pleasure we present to our readers the following letter from the well known American abolitionist, Gerritt Smith, to the venerable champion in the same cause, Thomas Clarkson. The immediate occasion of it was the transmission of one of the pamphlets which have recently issued from Mr. Clarkson's pen, but it will be found to contain also some cheering views on the subject of American slavery generally. The letter is as follows:—

Peterborough, U. S., January 1, 1845.

Venerable and beloved friend,—A thousand thanks for your letter of 3rd ultimo, and for the pamphlet which accompanied it. I have read the pamphlet this morning. How good is our heavenly Father in giving you, at your great age, enough vigour of mind and body to enable you to write so useful a pamphlet! I hope it will have an extensive circulation in our guilty land. It is severe; only, however, because it is true—it is all true, and it might have told still more horrid truths.

The anti-slavery cause is making rapid progress in our Northern States, and is getting a foothold in some of the Southern States. The Liberty party vote, which began in 1840 with less than 7,000, swells now to 62,000. But for the deceptions and forgeries resorted to at our late election, the Liberty party vote would have been at least 80,000. It will be 100,000 another year.

I cannot believe that the guilty and infamous scheme of extending and upholding slavery by the annexation of Texas to this nation will succeed. The North will not come to the support of that scheme.

You have seen, or very soon will see, the account of the mobocratic expulsion of the Massachusetts representative, Mr. Hoar, from South Carolina. I think that the spirit of Massachusetts will hardly brook this indignity upon her honour.

The shutting up of Northern citizens in Southern prisons along with felons, for no other offence than counselling the poor slave to escape from his bondage, is swelling the tide of anti-slavery feeling at the North.

The slave question is driving the Methodist church of this country to a geographical division. This is well—and I hope that ere long our national Presbyterian Church will be divided into a Southern Pro-Slavery Presbyterian Church, and a Northern Anti-Slavery Presbyterian Church.

Do, my dear friend, let me receive a few lines from you occasionally, as long as our merciful God shall spare you strength to write them. You are very dear to the hearts of American abolitionists—and we highly prize every line that we receive from you. The letter which I am now answering I will soon send to the press.

Believe me to be with great regard, your friend,

GERRITT SMITH.

P. S. It was a great error in the Free Church of Scotland to send to slaveholders for money.

We should feel additional gratification if we thought we might

venture to publish the note from Mr. Clarkson himself, which has reached us with the foregoing letter; but we think we must content ourselves with citing from it the few words which follow:—"Oh, how I burn to try my hand at another little essay, if a subject could be found! Thank God, that, though I have lost the use of some limbs, I have not lost my faculties." We commend this sentence to the attention of the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*.

An important parliamentary paper has been published in relation to the late disturbance in Dominica. We have noticed its contents in another column.

We have given in our present number, according to our promise, the account of the anti-slavery meeting held at the town of Clarence, in the island of Fernando Po, west coast of Africa, on the 1st of August last. It occupies a large space in our small paper, and excludes for the moment some other articles of intelligence; but it is on the whole so interesting that we could not find it in our hearts either to withhold, or materially to abridge it. It is, we suppose, the first anti-slavery meeting ever held in Africa, the first effort of its class to awaken the energies and sympathies of Africa itself in opposition to the slave-trade. We beg to recommend it as an example to other missionary stations. Our account states that at the close of the meeting subscriptions were promised to the amount of nearly ten pounds. We shall be most happy to give the particulars when the money comes to hand.

By a report of the half-yearly meeting of the Cobre Copper Mines (Cuba) Association, held on the 11th January, it appears that the company had suffered a loss on the ore sold during the half year of 7,274l. 8s., as compared with the sales of 1843. In that year also, we believe, there was a loss. "The directors hoped, on the sale of the accumulated ore, to be able to declare a dividend." It is not without instruction, that proceedings which do violence to all principles of justice and humanity should thus disappoint the hopes of gain on which they are founded. The Cobre copper mines are wrought by slaves, under the proprietorship and direction of Englishmen! Why will such respectable men as Sir John Pirie, George Whitmore, and Francis Mills, identify themselves with these heartless and unjust, we may truly say, infamous proceedings?

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT FERNANDO PO.

Dr. PRINCE having been called to the chair, after reading a portion of Scripture, and imploring the Divine blessing to rest on the proceedings of the meeting, he observed,—It falls to my lot to introduce the business of this meeting; but before entering on its direct object we thought it necessary to supplicate the mercy seat, a duty which I need hardly remind you the people of God should always be ready to perform. It is seldom unfitting in any engagement to introduce the authority of God; and, if ever we possessed Divine authority for any course of conduct, surely we have it for employing our feeble efforts "to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free." We desire then to come before you as the messengers of Christ, as those who are girt about with truth on every side; and, when I reflect on the righteousness of the cause in which we are engaged, I cannot but regard the present meeting as a continuation of the religious service of this morning, at which we specially prayed for the speedy extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. While we rejoice over what has been done in the British West India colonies, and render our praises and thanksgivings to God for the wonders he has wrought, I hope that the brethren who are to address the meeting, many of whom have themselves experienced the horrors of slavery, and are thus able to speak from experience, will so speak as to excite our sympathy in behalf of our brethren and sisters yet under the galling yoke. In desiring you to sympathise with the slaves, we only desire to link you with people like yourselves—natives or descendants of Africa, who have been unjustly torn from their homes, and carried to distant lands, to endure all the hardships and cruelty that the wickedness of the human heart could invent. We desire to see a union between the inhabitants of Fernando Po, most of whom have been delivered by the hand of mercy from the holds of slave-ships, and the people dwelling in Jamaica and the other isles of the far west, who, though once slaves, now love the air of liberty. But, while we speak of freedom and its blessings, let us not forget that liberty to the slave teaches to them new lessons, and brings with it new duties. While we speak of the sweets of liberty, let us not seek to enslave others, either in body or mind. Let us be careful of our conduct towards our servants. I speak as I do, because there is, in point of fact, a great deal of slavery in the town, which I hope will soon be abolished, and which indeed would soon be so, if the law of love, to do to others as we desire them to do to us, were better attended to.

We have assembled to commemorate the downfall of West Indian slavery. I ask, What was it that effected the mighty work? Instruction! knowledge! The lamp of Divine truth poured a flood of light upon the negro's mind, that convinced him he was a man, and not a thing—that taught him, not only to aspire after heaven as his eternal home, but also after a proper standing among the other members of the human family; but in doing this it likewise taught him how to behave as a slave—to commit his ways to God, and to wait patiently the hour of deliverance. However cruel his master, the word of God would not permit him to render evil for evil; it assured him that vengeance belonged to God alone, and that his God would in time appear in his behalf, and pity his condition. The slaves, therefore, with few exceptions, waited patiently. A silent, patient endurance marked the conduct of the Africans, which, while it reflected honour on them, could not have failed to call forth the approbation and joy of those who were engaged in their behalf, and which, like the still small voice on Mount Horeb, was prophetic that God was with them, and only waiting in his own good time to effect their deliverance. And may we not hope that the gospel seed now being

scattered on the mighty land of Africa may yet produce spiritual and temporal liberty? Yes, it will; and in that land where murder, and rapine, and every other evil now abounds, and which may be regarded as the main pillar of the empire of the prince of darkness, will yet be commemorated, not only the anniversary of freedom from year to year, but the jubilee of their deliverance from the thralldom of Satan and of sin. Let us hope also that France, Spain, Denmark, America, and the Brazils, where the iron yoke is yet riveted on the neck of the slave, will be impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and of their own accord break the bands and cast them away.

But it is necessary I should give a clear definition of what slavery is. Slavery is making free agents chattels, converting persons into mere things, and reducing them to articles of property. The slave cannot say, These hands, these feet are mine, without being guilty of sedition. Let him sweat from morning till night, no hand is opened to compensate him for his labour. Where, I ask, did man learn to exact the labour of his fellow-creatures without making a return? Such wisdom, I am persuaded, came from beneath—it emanated from the prince of tyrants, and would never have been exercised on earth had the human family not themselves become the willing slaves of the enemy of souls. This is the principle of slavery:—a man is to be hired out as you would hire a horse—a man is to be written over, in making a will, as you would leave a house, or any other article of property, for a friend; and thus in reading the wills of slaveholders we frequently meet with such sentences as the following:—I leave my boy John for so and so. A bill is given for the sale of a man as you would get a bill for articles purchased in England. Is this the way for man, created in the image of God, to be treated? O that the wickedness of the wicked may soon come to an end!

After reading some extracts illustrating the horrors of slavery, the chairman said—All these things, and more, and worse, we shall prove. Are these the doings of man? One would think that hell was emptied, and all the infernal spirits had taken up their residence on earth. I do hope your benevolent minds will respond to the appeals which may be made to-day, and while you hear of the horrors of slavery and the injustice practised on your fellow men, I trust you will resolve in the strength of Christ to owe no man anything, but to love one another.

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE said,—Although I have seen a great deal of slavery, having lived in the midst of it for several years, and though I have selected, and could read much about it, I feel rather inclined to hear some account of the fearful system from those who have themselves been in slavery, and who have seen something of it in their own country. I believe there are people here who have borne the heat and burden of slavery, and will be able to speak experimentally on the subject, which, as you are well aware, is the most effectual mode of speaking. There are three great evils in the world, which should be hated and avoided by all the human family, viz., slavery, war, and intemperance; but, if one of these evils has produced more affliction than another, that one, I think, is slavery. In referring to the atrocities of slavery and the slave-trade, I do so with much reluctance; but how fearful is the consideration, that, though the British slave-trade was abolished in the year 1807, and no slaves could again, under the colour of law, be taken to the West Indies, upwards of four millions have since that period been taken from Africa. Before the abolition of the slave-trade, an excellent man, whose name will ever stand pre-eminently forth in the annals of humanity as the friend of the injured and oppressed, feeling persuaded that it was his duty as a Christian, a man, and a philanthropist, and one to whom God had given extraordinary energy and perseverance to support him under his arduous task, set himself to work with all his might, to collect and publish facts respecting the atrocities of the African slave-trade; and in a short time he laid before the world such startling accounts, as kindled a sympathy in the hearts of the British public which never ceased to burn, till not only the slave-trade, but slavery itself was abolished in the British West India colonies. This truly good man went to Bristol and Liverpool, and gathered accounts of the slave-trade from doctors, supercargoes, and others who were trading to the African coast, and by these means brought to light such a mass of evidence respecting the fearful cruelties practised on the enslaved Africans as would have been entirely discredited had they not been well attested. That man's name is Clarkson—he is now alive; and will ever be, even after his death, one of the greatest glories of his country. Wilberforce, his coadjutor in the righteous work, has gone to glory; but before he left this world his dying moments were cheered by hearing the destiny of West India slavery. For the labours of these noble men, and others whom I need not name, you should, my friends, be deeply grateful, and ever should you regard them as your best friends.

I have said that, since the abolition of the English slave-trade, upwards of four millions of Africans have been torn away from their country. And in what kind of vessels, I ask, were they carried over the deep? You have a slave ship lying here; all of you have seen the one which was captured at Bimbia, by Commander Earl, a few months ago. I visited one in Jamaica, and so confined was the place where the poor Africans were stowed, that I laid my elbow on the slave-deck, and touched the beam of the upper deck with my finger. Few slave ships are more than two feet high in the hold. Then think of the number who die of starvation, and want of air, and say if such things can be right! I do trust that, if you hate slavery at all, you will hate it altogether—hate it from the bottom of your souls. But you may say, What can we do? Before the meeting closes, you will perhaps be able to answer the question for yourselves. I would recommend you to become subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society. Before the meeting closes, put down your names, and give just what you can for destroying slavery; and while you do this, pray to God to send abroad the messengers of the gospel, far and wide, to diffuse the truth. I need hardly tell you that the religion of Christ is opposed to slavery—it has ever kept up a war against slavery; and though the contest may be long, and to some seem doubtful, Divine truth will always prevail. Surely you do not think that men could bring slavery to a close. The work is God's; and in his own good time he will accomplish it. By what means was slavery abolished in the West Indies? By the gospel. The slaves were enlightened by the truth, and knowledge gave power. The slaveholders,

knowing this, set themselves against the religious instructors of the people, and would, if able, have driven religion from the land; but they were not equal to the task,—for though they did much to injure the cause, the wise God overruled their evil actions for good. It is pleasing to reflect, that, notwithstanding the sufferings of the people of Jamaica, they endured them, with few exceptions, with much patience and meekness. During the insurrection in Jamaica the deacon of a Baptist church exerted himself to save his master's property from destruction, and, with forty or fifty other members of religious societies, received a vote of thanks from the assembly, and the offer of freedom; but he requested that his son might be made free instead of himself, and the request was granted. It might be said, If the gospel so enlightens the mind as to render the slave discontented with his station, why extol those who took no part, with, the slaves during the insurrection? But it must not be forgotten, that, while the gospel enlightens and exalts the mind, it also teaches forbearance under injuries. A man who is under the sanctifying influences of the gospel, would never think of taking up arms to destroy his fellow men; while an individual, who has only been enlightened, without being sanctified, might feel the yoke of the oppressor so heavy as to resolve to throw it off at all hazards. Mr. Clarke concluded his address by reading some extracts illustrative of slavery in the United States.

Mr. DUCKETT said, Christian friends, I rejoice to stand before you this day, and speak of the goodness of God. I cannot express what my feelings were when I looked upon the congregation this morning assembled to pray for the downfall of slavery, and especially when I beheld the children going through their different lessons during their examination. I could hardly believe I was in Africa. God has indeed done great things for us, whereof we ought to be glad. Much has been said about the horrors of slavery, and I can bear testimony to the truth of what has been said. How many people in Jamaica are near relatives to each other, yet, in consequence of being torn from their native country, and settled in different parts of the island, are not aware of the fact. Surely each of us should be determined never to relax our efforts till slavery is destroyed from off the face of the earth. The Lord has already put down slavery in the West Indies, and, if we look to him and exert ourselves in a proper manner in the good work, he will go on to work. A few years ago we knew no Sunday in Jamaica—even mothers with their new-born infants had to go out to work. I do bless God that he prevented many of our brethren and sisters in Fernando Po from being taken to slave colonies. True, your situation was bad enough on board the slave ships, but if you had been taken to Cuba, or any other slave island, your sufferings would have been much greater. I knew a man in Jamaica who destroyed his life to escape the horrors of slavery. He was an old man of about 70 or 80 years. He used to watch his overseer's corn, and six traps were given him by the overseer to catch the rats which used to destroy the corn, and because the old man did not catch any rats he was sentenced to be flogged. The poor old man ran away, and was absent for several months, till the overseer sent four men after him, who apprehended him, and tied him. In taking him home, the old man threw himself into the river and was drowned. When I looked upon the children this morning, and thought upon the privileges which they enjoy, I could not help praising the Lord on their account, and wishing that in my early life I had enjoyed such privileges. Though I never experienced the hardships of slavery, yet I was a slave when a child, and thus debarred from instruction. And now, my friends, that we have met to talk about slavery, I trust we shall not close the meeting, without *doing something*. We want you to give a long pull, and a strong pull, and pull altogether, in this work. When we arrived at Fernando Po, you gave us a good pull. You pulled us into your houses, and treated us with great hospitality. There was another glorious pull in the good work when eight were baptized the other morning in the brook; but we want another pull—we want a pull out of your pockets—out of your chests, to assist us pulling down slavery, and the kingdom of the wicked one.

Mr. WILLIAMS.—My friends, this day must look to you quite strange—strange altogether—you did not know 1st of August before, but you know it now. On this day, I assure you, a great deal of good was done. If it were not for the freedom which we got on this day we would not be here now. I tell you, my friends, that you get the gospel cheap—very cheap; nobody trouble you because you call on Christ's name, but in Jamaica it was not so; gospel very dear in Jamaica. We did not dare to call on Christ's name and let our masters hear. A gentleman in Jamaica, named Dr. —, asked me one day, Who do you call Christ? I know the old God, but as to Christ I don't know a word about him! But, bless God, we know about him, my friends. Jamaica was indeed a wicked place—a place not fit to be mentioned. The poor slaves were worked night after night—day after day; got thumping, lashing, and sent to the workhouse. Those children that can't help themselves were all given to an old woman to mind them, and the poor mothers sent to the fields at four o'clock to dig cane-holes. Things go on in this bad way till Mulgrave published news that all the people were to be free, but to have six years' apprenticeship. That time the people raised rebellion in Jamaica, they destroy many of them. Then we heard the planters seeking for Baptists—only the Baptist people they wanted. They murdered the people in such a degree that a heart of stone would feel for them, but God looked down—and while the wicked people were satisfying themselves the Lord was getting ready to take us out of their hands. Then, when we did get free, the apprenticeship was very bad. There was the tread-wheel and the lashing, for the planters were determined to kill us all before the apprenticeship time was out. By the time the six years are out, they said, not one of you shall be alive. For my own part I suffered a great deal in the apprenticeship. Three weeks I lived in chains, and they could not tell what they put me in chains for. When I went before court, they could not say I steal, or lie, or do any bad thing; then after I was released I was carried again before Capt. Dillon, and they said I was to get 500 lashes, but Capt. Dillon told them not to disturb the poor man. Oh, Jamaica was a very bad place! They didn't care for God nor man. They used to abuse our ministers, and say that those mackaronie fellows are the ruin of Jamaica; but our ministers never spoke one bad word to us—everything good they taught

us. When we were going to be free, some of the planters even made bullets, and when they were asked what they were going to do with them, they said to kill *blackbirds*, meaning the black people. But in time God drew us out of the house of bondage; let us then love the Lord, and love our ministers, who come from England to labour among us. Nor must we forget to pray for Thomas Clarkson. In Jamaica we love him so much that we called our town Clarkson Town, after him. Then when the gospel took root in Jamaica the voice came from Africa, Come over and help us, and we have come at the call of God. True, we are not great people—but I hope we will not bring any bad example, but do the work of God from the heart. Let us not lay any stumbling in the way of the people in Africa—let us weaken sin and not *fasten* it. As to rum, I hope it will soon be banished out of the world, for it is very wicked thing. We condemned rum in Jamaica the day we got our liberty; for we not only buried the whip, and chain, and shackles, but a bottle of rum also, to show that we had done with it.

Mr. WHITFIELD.—My friends, I get up before you with much gratitude to my heavenly Father. Having lived in a part of the world where slavery was carried on, I know a little about the system, but the time is too far gone to say much. I have seen forty and fifty people in America in handcuffs, going to Georgia to be sold as cattle; and these poor people who are engaged in cotton-growing suffer a great deal—they are worked all day and all night, and have no time to sleep—many never see their homes from day to day. And how are all these things to be done away with? Why, we must put our shoulders to the wheel, till a slave is not to be found in the whole world. In many parts of America people have bells fastened to them, that when they run away they may be easily found out. Let us pray that the wicked system may soon go down, and then our fellow men will no longer be dragged to the market like dogs and oxen.

Mr. PETER NICHOLS.—Again, friends, I stand on this platform to address you. I hear about Jamaica, and thank God he has made our brothers and sisters free; as I was never there I cannot talk anything about it, but I can tell you a little about my own country. I was born in the Eboe country; and when I was taken and sold as a slave I was small, and young, and foolish. My own brother sold me for a slave. My father had twenty-four sons. I was the only one he had by my mother. I did not know my father, he died when I was very young. One day one of my brothers take a bag and give me, and told me to follow him. When I went a little way I saw some men waiting, and my brother gave me to the men, and received from them a gun and other things, in payment for me. When the men took me a gun was fired. In my country, whenever a person is sold and a gun is not fired, you can get back that person if you pay, but whenever a gun is fired he can never come back. When I heard the gun I asked my brother, "Have you sold me?" He never said a word to me, but walked away with the gun. The next day my sister came to buy me back, but, though she offered three slaves for me, they would not give me up. From my country I travelled till I came to a place near Bonny, called Irdoki. Oh, what things I saw in that place! Jamaica was bad, my friends, but Irdoki pass Jamaica for badness. On every large tree I saw one or two persons hanging by the foot with his head down. While I was there they made a country play one day, but I was so frightened that I ran away and hid myself. Three days after that a Bonny canoe came to Irdoki, and I was sent to Bonny. I remained at Bonny three months, and then was sold to a Portuguese captain; about 700 were sold that time. Many of the slaves at that time broke their chain at Bonny, and were running away, but the Bonny people caught them and killed them all. Well, when we were ready to sail we were all put on board, but we did not know where we were going. After sailing one day and a half we were taken by man-of-war. From what I hear and read of these, the slave vessel that I sailed in must have been much like it; the poor people cry all day for water—nothing but water—water—water! Ah! how we ought to pray for the Queen of England. I thank God we were not taken to Cuba, or any slave place—thank God that he brought us to a free country. When the man-of-war took us they gave us water, and brought us to Fernando Po. Colonel Nicols was then here, and he took me to be his servant, and treated me well. And now I am not sorry that my own brother sold me as a slave. God did not want me to die in my sins and go to hell, and therefore he brought me to this place, where I have heard the gospel of the Son of God. In my country I belonged to a very rich family, but now I belong to a richer family. Oh! how we ought to praise the Lord for his goodness to us. The Jamaica people, after receiving the gospel, and tasting how sweet it is, have sent it to us; the good people in England have sent out books, clothes, and many other things to do us good. Now, do, my friends, let us begin to work also; whenever you hear of any steam boat going up the river, if you have a shilling, give it, that the missionaries of Christ may go up the river and tell the people about the Saviour of the world. Jamaica has shown their love to God and souls by their actions—let us do the same. It is very true we have received the gospel cheap. You that have money, give it for this good work; put up what money you can to purchase clothes to send up the river for our poor country people, and let us pray to God to strengthen our missionaries to do good for Africa. I have not any more to say—but I would close by recommending all to give something to the Anti-Slavery Society. I am willing to give 2*l.* every year. How should I rejoice if my country people had the gospel!

CHAIRMAN.—I hope that the other twenty-three of Peter's father's sons will be like him.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Dear brethren, my esteemed friend has called on me to tell a little about Jamaica slavery, and has allowed me five minutes for doing so, but with his permission I will take a few more. When a slave, I was the head-driver on my master's property, and finding that I would not punish the people, I was handcuffed and carried twenty-six miles from my family and friends, and confined three weeks in the workhouse. To this day I cannot tell why I was so cruelly treated. The truth is, I did not punish my brethren and sisters, and my master was therefore determined to punish me. While in the workhouse I had to get up at three o'clock every morning to drag cart; females, too, had to do the same, and the drivers used to flog them from one end to the

other. One day we were carried into a deep river with the chain on our necks, to work. While in the river the water came down, and, if it had not been for the goodness and mercy of the Lord, we would all have been drowned. After being in the workhouse for three months I went home. At that time the Gospel began to work mightily on the hearts of the people. Our masters made us work well for them, but what did they give us? Eight yards of osnaburgh, three yards of bairn, and one dozen of rotten fish every year! They thought more of their dogs and cattle than they did of us. During the apprenticeship I was taken to another workhouse. The work of the property was going on well; a great deal of sugar was made, yet our master could not be satisfied; and why was he angry?—because he saw the gospel extending among the people. At that time we had little sleep; we tried to walk many long miles to talk about Christ and his salvation. I was taken before the court, and the charge against me was, I did not make the people work. But the truth is, I was ill-treated because I did not take the people to the treadmill. Oh, what treatment we received in those days. As you tie monkey, so they used to tie us. When I went before the court, the magistrate said, "William Phillips, go back and beg your overseer's pardon;" but I did not know what I was to beg pardon for. What could I do? Was I to sin against my God, to please man? Was I to punish my fellow men without cause? I went home, but two or three days after I was taken back, and my master said, "This man has been very impudent;" and in what did my impertinence consist? He wanted me to speak against the people, and have them punished, and I told him I could not. The magistrate sentenced me to receive five hundred lashes, but they never took me to be punished. At last the apprenticeship was shortened, and we were free altogether; and then we laboured hard for those who formerly punished us—we carried on the work of the estates well; but while we worked well we made them pay well; and when we received our money we did not dig holes and put it in the ground; we did not lock it up in our chests; we erected chapels—supported our missionaries, and sent the gospel to those who had it not. May the Lord bless what has been said, and let his face shine upon us!

Mr. DUFFIS. My countrymen, truly the Lord is God, and we must fix our heart on him, and put our hand to his work. When I go to Jamaica from my country, Cabenda, I meet one cruel master, named —, but the Lord spared my life till I was made free. Many of our fellow-creatures are still in chains; let us then work hard to deliver them; and let us thank the good people of England for sending us ministers to preach the gospel to us, and let us do good to one another.

Mr. AMEDI JOB. My friends, when I was at Goree the slaves used to work very hard for their masters, except Sundays, but they never get any money for their work. The people at Goree do not know anything about God. Whenever a person dies, they say witch kill him, and then they put the dead man in a country chair to sit up, and dance before him, and ask, "What make you die and leave all your things? You have plenty of rice, and money, and cloth." When I left Goree I went to the Gambia, and then went to Sierra Leone, but I did not see any bad thing there.

Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSON. My friends, through the grace of God I stand here to-day. When I was in my own country I left it and walked to another country, and the people of that country hold me and chain me. My poor mother wanted to pay money for me, but the men that chained me would not let me go. They took me to Bonny and sold me to Portuguese; and the English took the slave ship and brought me to Fernando Po, and now, by the goodness of God, I live in a Christian country, and know something about the Son of God. Let us all pray to God to send the good news to every country.

Mr. WM. NIGER. My friends, I have too much thing to talk about my country palaver, and it come now too late, I can't talk deep. I must begin to talk close here. My father got seven pickeneys, four girl, three boy; when my father dead, my father-in-law come head-man. Him say my eye too dry. I no good boy—one day him tell me go bring tope; that time been very cold time too—him say run quick. That time I go look for tope, I see two man; they catch me and walk way with me, till by and by we come to one house: but they say they no put me for stand for house. I must stand outside. The man that have house make eat, and give me and bring tope; give me, but I can't eat, I can't drink. When we stop at this place little bit, they say plenty of trouble for road, they must go back to my country, and then my mother will get me again. They carry me to another country; I live there four days, and then we walk, walk till we come to Calabar. When I go for Calabar, the man with whom I stop, his brother died; then I begin to look if I can run away, but I could not get away. When I live at Calabar, I go to one market one day. I see one woman tied at the place where I stop, and the people of that country eat man and woman, like them eat beef. When I come to Calabar again, the woman that him brother dead, say I must stop with him. One day I go to river to wash, I begin to swim; one man run catch me, and say I want to run away, and chain me; I live in chain three moon, and they make me dance when I have on chain. At last they sell me to Portuguese, and English man-of-war catch Portuguese and bring me Fernando Po, where I meet Col. Nicols. Him good man. When I come Fernando Po I learn sawyer, and then Mr. Thompson want me to saw board 6s. for 100 feet; and because me no him do me bad; and tell me I know you very well, you Eboe people you very bad. About that time Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince bring good news; their palaver come to my heart—my heart broke when they go away; they tell me more teacher come, but we no hear them. We no know what to do; that day I see them go, I cry too much. I say me dead to-day; that time I feel too much, brother. I can't eat, I can't sleep; I say I shall take canoe go live with Bubi, till God-man come; but little bit God bring Mr. Sturgeon, and now he bring plenty other good man. God do me too much good—we ought to love him and believe in Jesus Christ. We must call Jesus Christ Saviour, and God Jehovah. Make we all pull one band. You know if we go in canoe and no pull, canoe can't go. I done. We must all work for God.

* Palm wine.

† Natives of Fernando Po.

Mr. WILSON. I do not know of any cruelty in my country I can give account of. I was too young when I was taken as a slave to know much about what happened in my country. I did not leave my country willingly, but I now plainly see the hand of God was in the whole matter. One of my cousins was taken by the men-stealers; when the news came to my father that his relative was caught by the robbers my father agreed to pay four slaves for him, but we had only two. When my father was going to another town to get the other two, he put me in the hands of the men who stole my cousin, as a pledge that he would return and pay them two more slaves; but the men, instead of waiting till my father's return, took me away as a slave. There were no slaves in that part of the country where I lived, and so my father had to go out to get slaves. Had my father not left me in the hands of the men-stealers, I might this day have been bowing down to wood and stone, and to my fellow-creatures; but the good God brought me here, where I have heard the gospel, and I hope have felt its power. We ought to pray continually to God, that the truth may be sent throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. We have now about come to the end of the first of August, but not to the end of the subject. I have something to propose, which I trust will meet the approval of all—(hear, hear). If you desire to show your sympathy for the slave, you must not only talk, but do something. The people of England have done much for you. The Anti-Slavery Society, which we now call on you to assist, aims to put down slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. If all the palm trees were cut down, you know there would be no more palm-oil; and if all the slaves were free, there would be no more slave-ships. Mr. Clarke is a corresponding member of the Anti-Slavery Society. I do hope that when he next writes he will be able to say that you have contributed of your substance in aid of the good work of emancipation. I do rejoice that Peter Nichols has come forward so nobly; there are many big people in my country by no means so liberal as he. We do not tell you what you are to give—give what your hearts prompt you to give, and by so doing you will cheer the hearts of the people of England and Jamaica.

The Rev. J. CLARKE said, I very cordially second your proposition, Mr. Chairman. Although I alluded to the subject in my speech, and first proposed that something should be subscribed in aid of the good cause, I must not forget to state that the proposition originated with Dr. Prince. You will recollect that some time ago some money was raised here for the Civilization Society, and many of you became subscribers. That society has fallen, and all that you intended to give to it should be given to the Anti-Slavery Society. I propose that all who wish to become members will come forward and have their names put down, and the money subscribed will be sent to England from time to time.

The Rev. T. STURGEON. I very cordially support the motion of the chairman. When we were conversing about an anti-slavery meeting, I thought we should meet to little purpose if something was not subscribed. Give just what is in your power, and never forget that what you give is given to the Lord. If any of your friends in the town feel inclined to assist, tell them to come to me and I will be glad to take their names. I hope the Lord will dispose your minds to give as he has given to you.

Colonial Intelligence.

ST. LUCIA.—IMMIGRATION.—It was our intention, on the present occasion, to have made some observations on the projects of the absentee proprietors and London merchants, to saddle the resident proprietors with the expense, or to use their own expression, to obtain labourers for their estates "at the general expense of the colony;" but as this plan is contingent on the negotiation of a loan in the English money market on the credit of the colonies, and Jamaica has declared her determination to have nothing to do with the transaction, we doubt not that the project will fall to the ground. Demerara and Trinidad will get a few thousand Coolies for the public money they have squandered, and will have time to repent at leisure of their folly, and we shall hear no more of Coolie immigration on a large scale, to force our present good and industrious peasantry to work at sixpence a day, or make way for the Eastern idolaters, who will eat rice and put their earnings in their pockets, and be carried back to their native hills at the expiration of their term of service, at the public expense.—*Independent Press*.

THE PROSPECTS.—We have the satisfaction to state, after having made minute inquiry on the subject, that the prospects for the coming year are most favourable; much attention has been paid to the cultivation of the cane-fields, and much new ground has been opened and carefully manured, as well from the cattle pen, as with no inconsiderable quantity of the guano, the effect of which is manifest, in the luxuriant growth of the plant. The peasantry are continuing to work steadily and industriously, and at a rate of wages the planter can well afford to pay, while the produce retains its present moderate price in the home market, and from all the information we have been able to obtain on this important subject, we do not anticipate any material reduction under the operation of the extended competition we shall be exposed to in the market; and if the contemplated reduction in the duty on plantation sugar takes place, we may look for remunerating prices and a ready market, which is of paramount importance to the West India sugar growers, who generally ship their own produce.—*Ibid*.

GRENADA.—PENAL SETTLEMENT.—We understand that from instructions recently received from Lord Stanley, his Excellency Sir Charles Grey intends shortly to leave Barbados on a tour to Jamaica, to assist at a Congress there, to be held for the purpose of adopting measures for the formation of a penal settlement for the common benefit of these colonies.—*Grenada Gazette*.

BARBADOS.—We find in the *Liberal* an account of the death of Prince William Husbands, a sugar boiler, under circumstances affording very strong presumption of foul play; while all demands made by his

relatives for inquiry have been met in a manner of apparent compliance, but real evasion, little short of mockery. In conjunction with our contemporary, we express "our earnest hope that a proper, searching investigation will be made in the case."

BRITISH GUIANA.—The *Herbice Gazette* states, on the authority of Mr. George Laing, that 10,000 instead of 5,000 Coolies are to be sent by Lord Stanley to British Guiana.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—CHARLES T. FORREY has been removed to the Penitentiary, and placed in the weaving department.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

DELIA A. WEBSTER.—The Governor of Kentucky has refused to pardon Miss Webster, and she must, therefore, serve out her allotted time of two years in the Penitentiary.—*Ibid.*

ANOTHER VICTIM.—Henry Bowyer, another citizen of Massachusetts, has been arrested, tried, and condemned, for aiding a slave to escape, in Virginia, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.—*New York Evangelist.*

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Mr. Memminger, the only man in the South Carolina Legislature, it would seem, whom the gods have not made mad, has brought in a bill to abolish capital punishment for forgery and other crimes. Among the other crimes, the 6th section specified that of aiding slaves to escape. The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee, who amended the section so as to make aiding a slave to escape punishable with death for the second offence. But the House, after some blustering discussion, struck out the section as amended, passed the bill, and sent it to the Senate. So the law will still stand as it did when John L. Brown was sentenced, *death without benefit of clergy*, for pointing a slave to the north star, and saying—"Follow that and be free."—*Emancipator.*

EMANCIPATION IN ALABAMA.—In the Lower House of the Alabama Legislature, on the 6th Jan., there was a discussion upon a bill to emancipate Gertrude, a Creole slave. The bill was discussed with much warmth. Many gentlemen expressed opposition to emancipation of slaves under any circumstances. The bill was passed.—*Emancipator.*

SLAVE HUNTING.—In the borough of Montrose, a public meeting has been held to express the indignation of the citizens against a body of armed men who have been concealed in the town for the purpose of kidnapping a number of coloured persons, formerly slaves, who, for several years, have resided there, leading quiet, industrious and honest lives. The meeting was of the citizens generally.—*Tribune.*

CUBA.—The last accounts from Havana mention the receipt, by the Governor-General, of a royal decree, enjoining him to give satisfaction to England for the insult offered to Mr. Turnbull, in his capacity as agent invested with the confidence of the British Government.—*Times.*

TABLE of exports of sugar from Havana and Matanzas, from 1st January to 31st August, 1843 and 1844;—

	From Havana.		From Matanzas.	
	1843.	1844.	1843.	1844.
	<i>boxes.</i>	<i>boxes.</i>	<i>boxes.</i>	<i>boxes.</i>
To the United States	22,331	87,038	31,659½	78,815
„ Great Britain	19,171	11,962	6,257	2,960
„ Cowes	153,458	162,931	65,178½	90,569
„ Baltic	49,062	31,544	46,954	17,555
„ Hamburgh and Bremen	51,238	50,068	37,314½	23,639
„ Holland	10,218	11,607	5,405	751
„ Belgium	6,220	9,460	2,802	1,005
„ France	17,760	18,431	8,221½	2,753
„ Spain	47,155½	77,428½	10,008½	13,149
„ Italy	2,365	4,264	1,322	—
„ Trieste, Venice, and other parts	10,023½	13,027	15,386½	35,411
Total	388,002	478,460½	230,489	287,607

WESTERN AFRICA.—Colonel Nicolls, in a letter to the editor of the *Friend of the Africans*, says, "I would congratulate our friends on the late news from the Bights, which you well know were, without any exception, no later than 1832, the very worst slave marts in Africa. I am now informed by several persons, that there has been of late *no slave-trading* along that portion of the coast extending from Bimbia to Cameroons; and that, so well are the chiefs carrying out their treaties with our Government against the slave-trade, that we are about to appoint a consul (at their own request) to reside among them."

SHOA.—Dr. Beke communicates the following extract of a letter from Aden, dated Oct. 11, 1844:—"The latest news from Shoa is, that Sahela Selassie has suddenly made extensive inroads into the adjoining countries, and murdered and captured many thousands—report says, 30,000—men, women, and children. The natural consequence is an increase in the exports, by sea, of slaves, to supply Mokha, Hodeidah, Lohela, Djidda, and Yembo. The Danakil (the slave-dealers) are in a terrible fright, in consequence of their having expected 600 from Tadjurah."

Miscellanea.

PRESIDENT POLK AND HIS SLAVES.—The *New England Puritan* tells us, and in a manner that would induce us to believe that Praise-God-Barebones was its editor, some "facts respecting Mr. Polk," the

new American President. We hear that Mr. Polk, "in the walks of private life," is highly respected; "that he is a slaveholder indeed, but not, as has been often stated in the papers, one of the richest and most extensive slave-owners in the State: that he may be worth some 25,000 dollars, A PART ONLY IS INVESTED IN SLAVES." How beautiful are the softening tints of iniquity! Mr. Polk is a slaveholder, but not a *rich* slaveholder. He only dabbles a little in human blood and bones; he is not a wholesale dealer in God's image; he turns a cent or so, where other men turn a dollar, and therefore may be looked upon—and indulgence claimed for him accordingly—as a sort of amateur human flesh-merchant, not a regular trader. True it is, that Mr. Polk has slaves; but possibly he may avail himself of the notorious excuse of the frail lady, "they are" very "little ones."—*Punch.*

THE DUTCH SUGAR TRADE.—The Hague, Jan. 30.—The *Handelsblad* communicates the following remarkable comparative view of the different kinds of sugar exposed for sale by the Commercial Society of the Netherlands, from the year 1836 to 1844 inclusive:—

	Picols.	Brown.	Yellow.	Grey.	White.
1836 ..	313,058	35	20	28	17
1837 ..	398,026	40	28	27	10
1838 ..	477,851	40	20	28	12
1839 ..	565,366	41	28	20	11
1840 ..	794,280	41	11	30	17½
1841 ..	735,392	33	19	27	21
1842 ..	732,126	31	13	26	30
1843 ..	773,012	17½	21	15	46½
1844 ..	732,440	36-16-5-10	18 2-10	11 4-10	58 3-10

The *Handelsblad* adds, "The favourable results which have been obtained since 1836 are due to the enlightened zeal of Mr. Band, the minister of the colonies, who takes the greatest care to ascertain if the product correspond with the model specimens. Thus, by degrees, from a given quality, more than two-thirds per cent. of white sugar have been obtained, and less than two-thirds of brown; whereas, in 1837, the quantity of brown produced from the same quantity was more than double that of white; and what renders this result the more happy is, that the quality constantly improving, there is likewise an increase in the quantity, as is evident from the preceding table."

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH COMMISSION.—We understand that the Duc de Broglie, the distinguished diplomatist, is hourly expected at the French embassy from Paris, all necessary preparation having been made for the Duke's reception there. The Duc de Broglie comes to this country on an important special mission from the French Government. The object of the Duke's mission has reference to the "right of search" and the slave question generally; and it is now hoped that a settlement of the long-pending differences on that important subject will shortly take place to the mutual satisfaction of both nations.—*Times.*

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter from the Rev. J. Clarke to Mr. Scoble, dated Fernando Po, August 6th, 1844:—"A slaver lies daily before my eyes upon our beach; another near, captured by Captain Earl, and taken to Sierra Leone; five, I just hear, have been in the Brass river, two of which had sailed, with their cargoes. Some weeks ago the *Sea Lark* chased two, but both of these escaped. We have now twelve steamers and ten sailing war vessels on this coast; still the trade goes on. A vessel was building at Bissao in February last, and the owner boasted thus, 'Let me get clear with two cargoes, and the man-of-war may take her, if he can, with the third; the first will pay all expenses, the second will give me a large profit, and about the third trip I am not anxious.' A very large number of vessels have been sent lately, it is reported, from Cuba, on this trade; and are so armed as to show a determination to fight and die rather than be taken. The *Carolitas*, taken by Captain Earl in February last, was all ready for resistance, but she was boarded as she lay at anchor at midnight. One man was shot by the captain of the slaver: he wished to run below to blow up the vessel, but was secured. This vessel had a crew of about forty-two, and was to carry about 600 slaves. I found only thirty-three sailors on board; the others had left at Calabar, or died in the Bunbran creek. The height of the space for slaves was three feet: about twenty or more females had places provided for them in the cabin!!! The iron bars for securing the hatchways, and for torturing refractory slaves, affected me deeply. The great gun in midship had taken out of it five balls, one grape-shot, and one canister. It was half full, and certainly must have burst, or done fearful execution among the man-of-war's men."

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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